

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 113 270

SO 008 674

TITLE Mothers Too Soon. Draper World Population Fund Report, No. 1, Autumn 1975.
 INSTITUTION Draper World Population Fund, Washington, D.C.
 PUB DATE 75
 NOTE 29p.
 AVAILABLE FROM Population Crisis Committee, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (free)
 EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.76 HC-\$1.95 Plus Postage
 DESCRIPTORS Demography; Developed Nations; Developing Nations; *Family Planning; Marriage; *Mothers; Parent Education; *Population Education; *Population Trends; Reproduction (Biology); *Social Influences; Teenagers
 IDENTIFIERS China; Indonesia; Islamic Countries

ABSTRACT

Six articles provide an overview of the problems of early marriage and/or adolescent pregnancy in both developed and developing nations. The first article reveals that social factors outweigh the biological in the reproduction process and reports that each year over 15 million babies are born to girls under 20, who become mothers too soon to achieve their full potential as educated active citizens and too soon to provide optimal care and support for their babies. The second article examines early marriage and pregnancy in traditional Islamic society. An expert on Chinese population policies, in the third article highlights the priority which the Chinese have given to raising the marriage age to increase female participation in national development and to reduce population. Sex and reproduction, which are constantly rising, among American teenage women are examined in the fourth article. The fifth article presents the problems of teenage pregnancies as high risks for infants. Marriage law reform in Indonesia is examined in the sixth article with respect to the struggle for equal rights for women. The last article presents the biological aspects of teenage pregnancy. Also included in the report are memorial tributes to William Draper by leaders in the international population field.
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The Draper World Population Fund Report

1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Area Code (202) 659-1833

Editor: Phyllis T. Piotrow, Ph.D.

Mothers Too Soon	3
by Phyllis T. Piotrow	
Early Marriage and Pregnancy in Traditional Islamic Society.....	6
by Sattareh Farman-Farmaian	
New Patterns in China's Family Planning	10
by Leo A. Orleans	
Sex and Reproduction Among U. S. Teenage Women	13
by John Kantner and Melvin Zelnick	
Teenage Pregnancies: High Risk for Infants	16
by Ruth R. Puffer and Carlos V. Serrano, M.D.	
Marriage Law Reform In Indonesia	18
by Mrs. Nani Soewondo	
Biological Aspects of Teenage Pregnancy.....	20
by Alan S. Parkes, M.D.	
Memorial Tributes to William H. Draper, Jr.	22

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*Mothers and infants both
hurt by early pregnancy*

Mothers Too Soon

by

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Of the approximately 125 million babies born each year, 10 to 15 percent or 12 to 18 million are the children of adolescent mothers, girls younger than 20. Physically, emotionally, economically and socially, many of these girls become mothers too soon for their own long term welfare and too soon for the health and welfare of their infants.

The percentage of live births for mothers under 20 varies greatly—from as high as 25 percent in several Central American and Caribbean countries to as low as one percent in Japan. On the whole it is higher in developing than in developed countries but in the United States births to girls under 20 amount to nearly 20 percent of the total.

In the developed countries, these teenage mothers are often poor and unmarried. In the USA, they are twice as likely to be black as white. After becoming mothers, they face multiple handicaps. They frequently drop out of school because of pregnancy; they have a hard time pursuing higher education or advanced training while taking care of a child; they qualify mainly for low paying jobs with little status or opportunity for advancement. For themselves, they have cut off the traditional pathway of upward mobility in developed societies—education. For their infants, the health risks are higher both at birth and through infancy and other opportunities may be limited, especially if the mother is poor and unmarried. The choice—or more often the chance—of a teenage pregnancy can be a tragedy for all involved.

Many Women Lack Choice

In the developing countries, adolescent pregnancy is

usually the result, not of choice or chance, but rather of the lack of choice. In traditional societies, girls have few respectable alternatives to early marriage. With education and careers closed to them and virginity in a young girl both highly prized and highly endangered, the usual solution is early marriage, quickly followed by pregnancy. Although the woman finds her status in society improved by early marriage and proven fertility, her health and that of her children suffer from too early childbearing and the nation suffers from too rapid population growth.

In both developed and developing countries, the data available show that from a health standpoint, mothers under 20 and their infants have higher morbidity and mortality rates than mothers in their 20s and their infants. In general, maternal mortality is lowest at ages 20-24 and highest at ages 40-44, forming a somewhat J-shaped curve. Foetal mortality, stillbirths, perinatal mortality, and especially infant mortality are high below 20 and over 40, in a more U-shaped curve. These high rates may suggest that adolescent mothers are not emotionally or economically ready to provide optimal care for their infants.

Moreover, in both developed and developing areas the demographic impact of pregnancies at an early age is detrimental to any efforts to slow population growth rates. This can be easily calculated. To take an extreme example, the population in a country where the average age at childbirth is 20 would increase twice as fast as in a country where the average age at childbirth is 40. Moreover, in practice, an even more significant factor is that women who begin childbearing young are likely to end their reproductive lives with more chil-

dren altogether than women who begin childbearing at a later age.

This first Draper World Population Fund Report focuses on the problems of adolescent pregnancy. Different conditions prevailing in different parts of the world are described in this report.

Social Factors Outweigh Biological

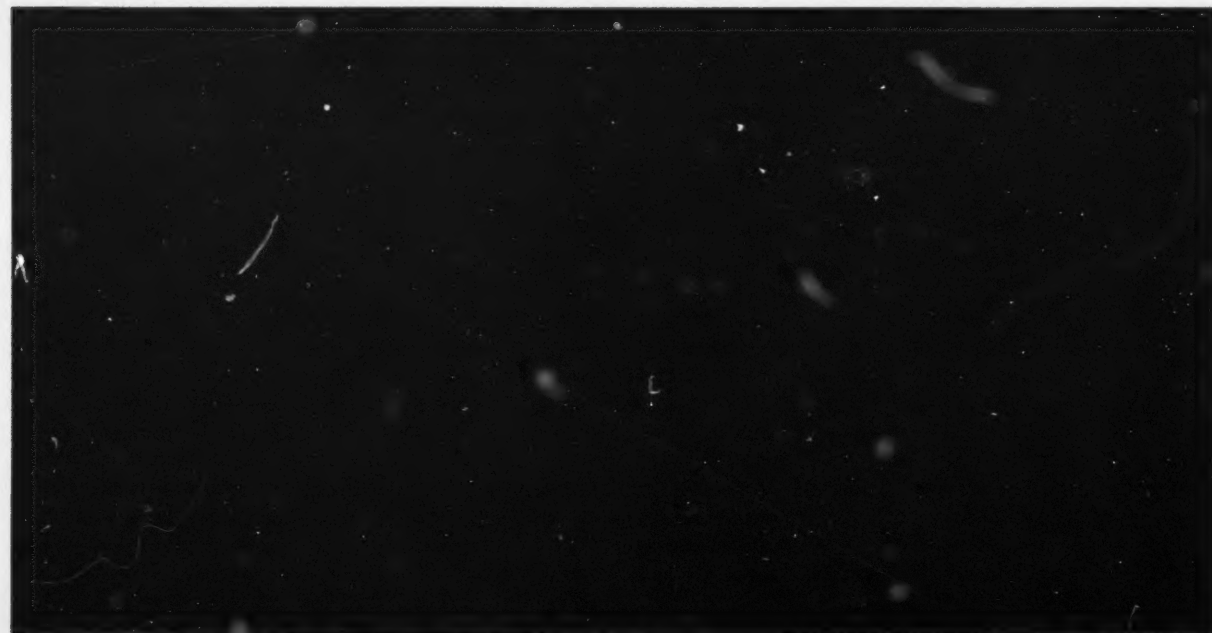
To some extent biological factors are involved, because a lower age of menarche is occurring in some areas as a result of improved nutrition. But, as Dr. Alan Parkes of Cambridge University shows, the basic causes of early motherhood are cultural. In Iran and Indonesia, for example, early marriage is characteristic of a traditional Islamic culture and nearly half of all females are married before 20. In Iran, as Mrs. Farman-Farmaian points out, large families and many sons are still highly valued, but now modernization is helping women achieve more education, greater legal rights, a new opportunity to participate in political life and greater control over fertility. In Indonesia, a new marriage law was passed in 1974, making 16 the legal age limit for girls to marry but traditional opposition, Mrs. Nani Soewondo notes, is still strong, and the govern-

ment has not yet implemented the measure.

In Latin America, pregnancy is common among women under 20, although many are not married. An extensive investigation by the Pan American Health Organization has documented the fact that maternal and especially infant mortality rates are significantly higher when mothers are under 20.

A different pattern prevails in the People's Republic of China, where, as Leo Orleans explains, raising the age of marriage and delaying childbirth are key elements in a massive and apparently successful campaign to reduce population growth in the context of economic and cultural revolution.

In the USA, although overall fertility has fallen sharply, teenage fertility remains high: nearly one out of every five U.S. births is to a mother less than 20 years old. Three quarters of these births were conceived out of wedlock. To reduce this premature and unplanned parenthood, Professors John Kantner and Melvin Zel-nik recommend an intensified educational effort and a more vigorous approach in distributing contraceptives. They too cite cultural barriers which keep existing contraceptive methods from being used "to their full potential."



Adolescence is a difficult period for males and females alike, a time of transition from childhood to adulthood, of taking on new and often not fully understood responsibilities. This is as true for the child bride in a rural village of Asia as it is for the affluent teenager in the West. When these natural problems of adolescence are compounded by rapid economic and social change and especially by migration from rural to urban areas, the results are often adolescent pregnancies and illegitimate births as well as continuing serious health and social problems.

With world interest focused on the International Women's Year in 1975, further attention is specifically needed on the problems of those who become mothers too soon, too soon to achieve their own full potential as educated, active citizens and too soon to provide optimal care and support for their babies. For the sake of women and of future generations, parenthood should not be a premature accident or a cultural rite but rather a responsible and informed choice by those old enough to understand the individual and social consequences. To achieve this goal should be one of the prime objectives of the Planned Parenthood movement today and a key element in national family planning programs.



Early marriage and frequent childbearing are common and advanced education is rare for most of the world's women.

*"A woman could gain power and status
only by becoming a mother of many sons."*



Early Marriage and Pregnancy in Traditional Islamic Society

by

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Early marriage is characteristic of Islamic societies. In most West Asian countries, between 40 and 50 percent of girls are married before age 20. A study in Iran a decade ago indicated that as many as one third of rural women and one fourth of women in Teheran were married even before age 15. Today, among girls aged 15 to 19, in Islamic countries, the proportion who are married ranges from 31 percent in the United Arab Republic to 73 percent in Pakistan. By comparison, in the United States 16 percent of this age group are married; in the Philippines and Thailand, 12 to 13 percent; in France, 3 percent; and in Ireland and Japan only one percent.

Tradition is a strong factor in the early age of marriage. Marriage itself is a religious duty. Celibacy is considered evil. A Moslem saying has it that "The ground itself shudders under the feet of an unmarried person." **Marriage is viewed as the goal of a woman's life. In Moslem countries at any one time between 70 and 90 percent of the women of reproductive age will be married.** Less than three percent (and more often only one percent) never marry.

Various schools of theology accorded to fathers the right to marry off their children, male or female, when still young. In early Islam, marriages generally took place at the time the girl reached puberty and in many rural areas this is still the case today. Religious law did not put any limit on the minimum age at marriage for girls, although the Prophet set some kind of limit by declaring nubile a girl of nine. One injunction is "Marry

your children when they are young." It is also traditional in a number of Moslem countries for men to marry much younger women. A young girl is considered a special prize by an older man. According to Iranian census figures, the average age difference between husbands and wives is 8.8 years in urban areas and 8.5 in rural areas.

Since sexual relations outside of marriage are proscribed by religion, early marriage minimizes the dangers of temptation. Parents can relax when a girl has married, for they no longer have the responsibility of guarding her virginity. Whoever takes her virginity before marriage will be forced to marry her, but, if for some reason this is not possible, she is rejected by her family and by her society. A study among prostitutes in Teheran indicated that nearly one-third had had sexual relations at an early age, were then rejected by their families, and could find no other mode of existence.

Parents are also relieved of financial responsibility when their daughters marry since most girls are not able to support themselves. In many Moslem countries a large percentage of the rural population and nearly all the females are illiterate. The schools that exist in rural areas are for boys. Few parents see the need to educate their daughters, particularly when opportunities outside of marriage, childbearing and child-rearing are not open to them. Ten years ago, less than ten percent of the women over age 15 in most Moslem countries were literate. There was nothing for young girls to do except help their mothers around the house and wait

for marriage. Since girls were a drain on the family finances, there seemed to be no reason to delay marriage any longer than strictly necessary. In addition, the family of the bride received a gift of money or its equivalent from the groom's family. This gift was to reimburse the family for the girl's upbringing and also to provide security for the girl, since it would theoretically belong to her in the event of divorce.

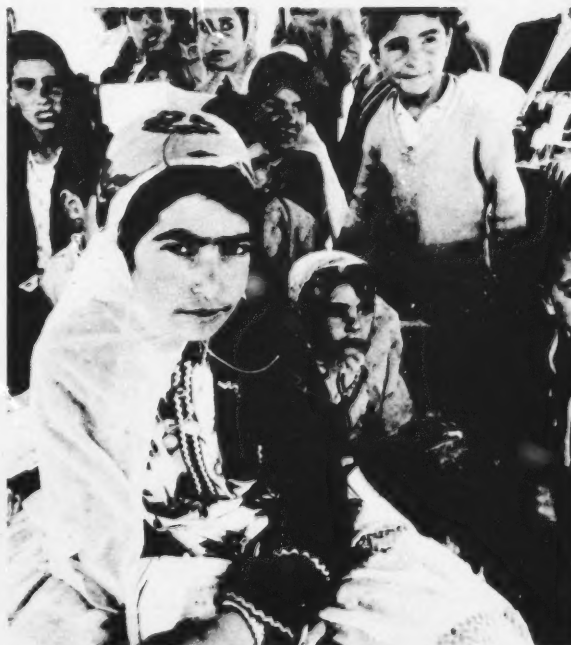
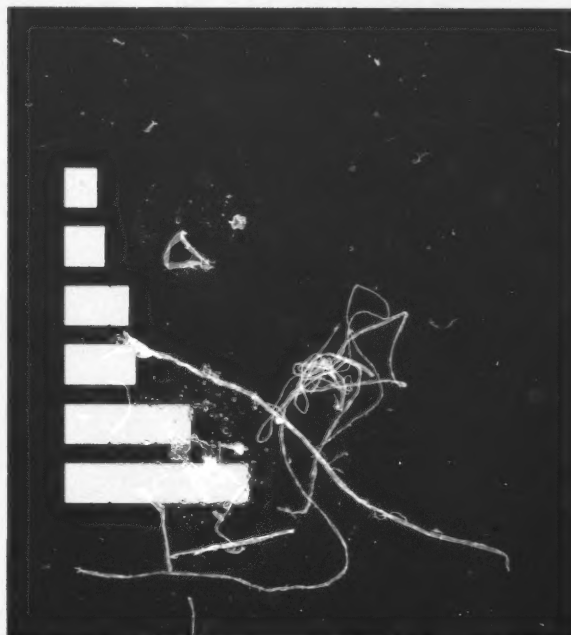
Social Status Linked to Marriage

Until she married and began a family, a girl had no position in society. Once married, she would generally move in with her husband's family where she would be a subservient helper for her mother-in-law. **She could gain status and power of her own only by becoming the mother of many sons and one day ruling an extended family of her own.**

Once married a girl still had to worry about staying married, since according to traditional religious law a man could obtain a divorce merely by repeating three times, "I divorce you." Barrenness, which through ignorance was invariably attributed to the wife, or producing only daughters, were both considered sufficient grounds for divorce or for taking a second wife. Children, especially sons, were highly valued and were considered among Allah's blessings. The number of children born was thought by the uneducated and superstitious to depend on Allah's will. Hence barren women were seen as unblessed and were looked down upon. The birth of a son not only gave a woman status, but was also good insurance against divorce. Thus a girl was eager to demonstrate her fertility as soon as possible.

Many Sons Required by Family

Not only marriage and motherhood but also more specifically the number of children and especially the number of sons determined a woman's social status. Until recently, women were thought of primarily as mothers rather than as individuals, and a mother of daughters was considered something less than the model wife. The strength of this tradition can be seen by the custom still practiced in rural areas and in some highly traditional Moslem societies of calling a woman by the name of her son, that is, Ali's mother or Mahmoud's mother.





In addition to the social prestige attached to large families, financial security for a woman was enhanced by having many children, especially sons. In the absence of government pension plans, unemployment, health and life insurance, children were considered an investment. Sons were preferred for both economic and social reasons. Many sons would increase the father's power in the village rivalries or tribal strife and would carry on the family name. Sons also meant extra hands in the fields as well as support in old age. By the time she reached middle age, a woman was quite likely to be widowed and to require support from her sons.

High infant mortality rates also affected the number of children a woman felt were necessary to ensure the survival of at least one son to maturity. Epidemics could wipe out one half of the children in a village in one season. An old adage is "The first two are for the crows." Even where life expectancy is 50 years, it may still be necessary to bear five children to insure that one son will survive.

Husbands Make Family Size Decisions

The husband, who had authority in this as in all other matters, would also press his wife to have more children in order to demonstrate his virility. He would, of course,

be free from all child-rearing routines and responsibilities.

Finally, women had no opportunities for experience in any roles outside the house and, in rural areas, the fields. In the cities, custom and tradition worked against the woman's assuming any task which might interfere with her duties as wife and mother. Thus women had no opportunities to learn skills or produce income outside the family.

Early marriage, along with strong pressures to begin



one's family immediately, means that Moslem women, in fact, spend most of their reproductive years married. Thus, their potential fecundity is maximized. Estimated birth rates in Moslem countries generally fall between 43 and 50 per thousand population. The estimated gross reproduction rates are at least three, that is, three daughters or six live infants are born to each woman.

Early and universal marriage has certainly contributed to this high fertility. Many studies correlate age of marriage with family size. An Iranian study calculated that if the age of first marriage were 22 instead of 19 years, the number of births would be reduced by 15 percent.

Studies suggest that wives are more motivated to limit family size than are their husbands, but that the husband generally makes the decision. Women see the effects of continuous pregnancy on their health and appearance and on the family's struggle for existence. Too many children too close together and beginning at an age when the girl has not fully matured herself mean higher risks for mother and child. Complications of pregnancy are more frequent in teenage mothers. Teenage mothers have a much higher than average proportion of premature and low birth weight babies. Infant mortality is nearly 30 percent higher for mothers under age 20 than for mothers aged 20-34. Even in their late teens, young mothers face greater risks than women who have children in their twenties and thirties.

Marriage Pattern Changing

Fortunately, in Iran as in many other countries, social change and modernization are influencing traditional patterns of marriage and reproduction. The tendency toward universal and precocious marriage is diminishing with urbanization, expanding education and employment opportunities for women, and generally higher standards of living. **Modernization, which brings with it an increase in the consumption needs of the average citizen and an expectation of higher living**



Empress Farah examines a family planning magazine with the author.

standards, will result in delayed marriage and smaller families.

The meaning of marriage itself is changing: the wife is thought of less and less as the mother of children and satisfier of sexual desires. A more egalitarian tendency is emerging in the modern urban family. Wives are increasingly employed and husbands participate in domestic affairs, including joint decisions about family size and spacing. This shift in expectations from marriage and the increasing desire to choose one's marital partner on the basis of education, character, and income will result in delayed marriages. As the nuclear family gradually replaces the extended family, less help in terms of housing, financial aid, and child care will be available to a young couple. These increased responsibilities will also result in a tendency to delay marriage and have fewer children.

Along with changing sex roles, modernization has brought increased rights for women. Earlier traditions which strictly secluded the wife in the home have been replaced by greater freedom for women to enter occupations and political activities. Women have been given the right to vote in a number of Moslem countries. Educational opportunities formerly denied them are now increasingly open to women.

Women's Rights Need Guarantees

As traditional customs change under modern pressures, laws affecting women's rights in marriage, divorce and other areas are also changing. The first legislation on marriage age in a Moslem country was passed by the Ottoman Caliphate in 1914 and affected all countries then part of the Ottoman Empire. In accordance with Islamic custom, puberty was seen as a prerequisite for marriage, but in the Ottoman Law of Family Rights, puberty was fixed at 18 for boys and 17 for girls. A similar code was adopted by the Egyptian government in 1929. In more recent years, progressive laws protecting family rights have been passed by the governments of most other Moslem countries. Iran's Family Protection Law was passed in 1967 and in February of this year the minimum age at marriage was legally raised to 18 for girls and 20 for boys. Hopefully, International Woman's Year will see an expansion of legislation guaranteeing women in all Moslem countries their rights in marriage, divorce, child custody, and family planning.

*High priority and socio-economic improvements
offer "basis for optimism" on family planning*



New Patterns in China's Family Planning

by

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U.S. Library of Congress

The People's Republic of China is pointed to with increasing frequency as an example of an overwhelmingly rural developing nation apparently managing to cope with an enormous population—in part by successfully starting the birth rate on a downward trend. There are no national statistics to support this allegation, but there is enough information about the methods, the means, the changed social and economic conditions and the changing role of the women to conclude that the custom of planning births is gaining momentum throughout China.

It did not take long for the new Chinese government to recognize that rapid growth of the huge population posed a serious problem to national development. It was much more difficult, however, to rationalize this practical concern with Marxist ideology and Mao's stated conviction that "it is a very good thing that China has a big population." Partly because of this ideological tug-of-war and partly because of the well-known difficulties of introducing family planning to a largely illiterate, rural population, policies have fluctuated over the years.

Until the 1970's uneasiness about this subject precluded the government from a straight-forward and candid commitment to family planning as a national policy. Despite the highly pitched birth control campaign in the mid-1950's and the even more intensive effort in the early and mid-1960's, it was mainly activities reported in the Chinese media that disclosed the existence of a policy of controlled fertility, rather than

any official proclamation from Peking. By now, however, the ideological contradictions have been adequately rationalized and family planning has the total backing of all government institutions. The official view continues to be that, since "of all things in the world, people are the most precious" population planning is encouraged not because of overpopulation, but because, "since social production is carried out in a planned way, it is only natural that population increase be also planned."

Health Services and Contraceptive Supplies Available

The campaign to postpone marriage and to reduce the number of births naturally focuses on young married couples, but since the Cultural Revolution it has had all the characteristics of a mass national campaign involving a much larger segment of the population. The public health system plays a major role in the implementation of the family planning program. In recent years the number of health personnel has increased rapidly and the emphasis on rural health has resulted in the transfer of scores of thousands of medical personnel into the countryside. Primarily staffed by paramedics, including the well-advertised barefoot doctors, the health network reaches down to every community in the country and one of its primary functions is to provide family planning information and services to all who desire them.

The Chinese have become completely self-sufficient in the production of contraceptives. Pills, condoms,

diaphragms, jellies are all readily available—for the most part free of charge. Although abortion is not encouraged as the principal means of family planning, abortions are readily available both in cities and in rural clinics. Vasectomies and tubal ligations are free and widely encouraged.

It is one thing to have the institutional structure and the wherewithal for an effective birth control effort; it is quite another thing to ensure that people use the facilities and the means that are available to them. It is here that the Chinese methods are unique and where the society as a whole becomes involved. This involvement in family planning starts with the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the trade unions, the women's federations and local governments, and works down through the political and social structure of both the urban and rural communities to the grassroots organizations. Every young person, whether married or single, belongs to some political or social organization, works in an agricultural unit or some enterprise or institution, and lives in a village or urban neighborhood. Encouragement and pressure to delay marriage and to limit the number of children in a marriage is applied through both work and community organizations, which are encouraged to "work together closely to jointly make a success of

birth control work." Planned childbirth committees, in cooperation with public health personnel, become familiar with people in their jurisdictions and make sure that everyone is aware of the need to limit family size and knows how to do so.

Improving the Status of Women

The most difficult prerequisite for a successful family planning program is the necessity for change in people's attitudes in order to overcome such traditional obstacles as the desire for many children (especially boys); customs that inhibited sex education; and, most important, the subservient role of women in the society. Change has not been easy and even now the government admits that "capitalist and feudal customs and habits have not yet been thoroughly renounced," so that an important part of the present movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is the effort to eradicate the lingering belief that "a woman cannot be the equal of her husband."

The persistence of some traditional attitudes in rural China does not detract, however, from the considerable progress that has already been made in raising the status of the Chinese women. Contrary to some views, these changes did not come about because of the promulgation of the 1950 Marriage Law which forbade



Women of China work in industry.

"arbitrary and compulsory" marriage and provided the woman with other legal protections; nor as a result of collectivization which made it possible for the women to earn workpoints in her own right; nor because of continuing propaganda intended to build up the status of the woman in a male-dominated society and impress upon men that indeed "women prop up half the heavens." Decrees and propaganda could not make men, reared in a traditional society, accept women as equals nor make women fight for "liberation" when equal rights translated into work in the fields rather than staying home with the children and engaging in other traditional work activities. These laws and educational actions were vital, however, in creating an environment in which gradual change could begin to take place.

The socioeconomic transformation that has taken place in China over the past quarter of a century—and especially during the past decade—has significantly changed the lives and attitudes of the young men and women who are the prime target of the campaign to plan births. There is no longer any question that education, employment, participation in community and national life and other nonfamilial activities



A woman health worker at Children's Hospital in Nanking.

greatly enhance the woman's ability to make decisions with regard to the age at which she will marry and the number and spacing of the children she will have, and in that sense, the young Chinese woman today is quite different from her mother or grandmother. Chances are she has had at least four or five years of schooling, she is either employed and getting a salary or working in agriculture and receiving work points, and she is also involved in a variety of activities relating to community life.

Better education, social awareness and political indoctrination make the young woman and her husband recognize that what little upward mobility may be available to either of them may well be affected by the number of children they have. They also know that too many children born to a woman in the rural labor force will place a considerable burden on her and reduce the family income, and that job and old age security no longer depend on having sons. Such economic considerations, combined with the psychological pressures provided by various political and social organizations within the community, are likely to motivate most young people to use contraceptives in order to limit the size of their family.

Raising the Age of Marriage

Peking's major effort to raise the marriage age proceeds more slowly. Pre-marital sex is not only disapproved by custom and state, but also is completely impractical in the Chinese setting, so that out-of-wedlock pregnancy is rare. This factor, combined with the encouragement to marry by the less indoctrinated older generation, makes delaying marriage a difficult policy to encourage. Nevertheless, economic, social and political pressures affect decisions to delay marriage just as they do the practice of birth control, and the age of marriage is gradually rising. Whether one gets married late or early is no longer considered to be "merely a private, trivial matter" but a reflection on one's patriotism and determination to participate in "the fierce struggle between the two world outlooks."

An objective evaluation of the effectiveness of China's family planning program cannot be made, but given the priority that the regime has assigned it and the improved socioeconomic environment within which it is being pursued, the Chinese have a basis for optimism.

*Most teenagers use ineffective
contraceptive methods*

Sex and Reproduction Among U.S. Teenage Women

by

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Professors

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In recent years fertility in the United States has declined substantially. By 1973 the crude birth rate had reached its lowest point in history and the absolute number of births was less than it had been since the mid-1940's. While declines in fertility have occurred to women in all of the childbearing ages, the decrease among women under 20 years of age has been proportionately less than the decrease in the other age groups. As a result, women under age 20 account for a larger proportion of annual births than they did previously. For example, in 1960 fourteen percent of the births were to women under age 20; by 1972 the figure had risen to 19 percent or nearly one of every five births; and one third of these births are to unmarried girls.

Risks of Early Childbearing

There is general recognition that early childbearing is associated with increased medical risks for the mother and the child. Further, early childbearing creates serious social and economic disadvantages for mother and child and perhaps especially so in the case of conceptions out-of-wedlock, even if the mother marries prior to delivery.

In the last few years unwed teenagers presumably have had less difficulty than previously in obtaining contraceptives and legal abortions. However, this increased availability has had less of an impact on teenage pregnancy than might otherwise have been expected. Despite a small downturn in one year (which was not sustained), the percentage of births to unmarried

women under 20 years of age remains high at about three times its level in 1940.

The sexual and "fertility-related" behavior of teenagers in the U.S.A. has received little serious scientific study. Most of the current information comes from the authors' 1971 survey based on a sample of all females 15-19 years of age.

About 27 percent of the never married teenagers in the survey had experienced sexual intercourse, with the rates rising from 14 percent at age 15 to 46 percent at age 19. In addition, almost 60 percent of the married teenagers had intercourse prior to marriage. The evidence suggests that premarital intercourse is beginning at younger ages and is probably increasing. For most sexually experienced girls, intercourse is infrequent and involves only one sexual partner, usually the man they intend to marry. Both frequency of intercourse and number of partners appears to increase with age.

Faulty Knowledge of Reproduction

The majority of sexually experienced unmarried teenagers have a faulty notion of the period of greatest risk of conception during the menstrual cycle. The most common fallacy is that the period of greatest risk is right before, during, or right after the menses. In fact, of course, the period of greatest risk is roughly mid-cycle, between the two menstrual periods.

Most of the sexually active unmarried teenagers have used contraception at some time but only a small proportion have used it consistently. Thus, about 16

Age of Marriage is Best Predictor of Fertility

Analyzing the results of the 1970 National Fertility Survey, Dr. Charles C. Westoff of Princeton University, President of the Population Association of America, noted:

Age at marriage is the best single predictor of fertility in the USA as well as in developing countries because it combines mutually reinforcing biological and sociological selective factors such as fecundability and education.

In other words, high natural fertility and lack of higher education, both of which are characteristic of girls who marry young, combine to produce large families.

percent had never used contraception, 19 percent had always used it and the remainder did so sometimes. When this group was asked if they had used some means of preventing pregnancy at the last intercourse, only 47 percent had done so.

Condoms and Withdrawal Most Common

Regardless of whether one examines methods of contraception ever used or method most recently used, the two most popular methods are the condom and withdrawal (with the pill in third place). There is of course some variation by age and by socio-economic status but in general, medical methods, like the pill, diaphragm, and IUD, have not captured the market among any segment of the unmarried teenage population. Even among the most regular contraceptive users who always used a method, almost 60 percent used the condom or withdrawal the last time they had intercourse in contrast to 24 percent who used the pill or IUD. Oral contraception becomes more popular with age. Among 19 year olds approximately 40 percent of those using contraception rely on the pill—about double the percentage using condoms. However, even in this age group reliance on the condom and withdrawal is substantial and together exceeds combined use of the pill and IUD by a small margin.

How can these facts be explained? Why did more

than half of these unmarried sexually active teenagers not use any method of preventing pregnancy during their last sexual intercourse? Why did less than one quarter use the effective, modern methods most widely recommended and prescribed by doctors and clinics?

Ignorance and Lack of Means Are Rife

The most common reason for the nonuse of contraception is the belief, frequently false, that pregnancy cannot occur. Although some of these may have been using a rudimentary "rhythm method," nearly 40 percent of those who had never used contraception believed they were not at risk of pregnancy either because they were too young or because they had intercourse too infrequently!

The second most common reason given for nonuse was the nonavailability of contraception at the required time. This is consistent with the relative infrequency of sex among teenage females, with their reliance on methods that must be employed at intercourse, and possibly also with the notion that sex should be spontaneous and unplanned.

The remaining nonuse is divided between those who said they wanted to become pregnant, those who had moral/medical objections to the use of contraception and those who "just didn't want to use" contraceptives.

These low levels of contraceptive use are reflected in high rates of births or conceptions out-of-wedlock. Of the first conceptions occurring among girls aged 15-19 that produced a live birth, 76 percent were conceived prior to marriage and 45 percent were born prior to marriage. Of all children born to married women as a result of first conceptions, 56 percent were conceived before marriage. To marry and then conceive is the exception rather than the rule.

The high and probably increasing level of sexual activity among teenagers combined with the continuing high levels of unwanted pregnancy and births to unmarried women constitute one of the serious remaining population problems in the United States.

Recommendations for Action

While more research may be helpful, there are already several indications for action in present knowledge:

Efforts to counter the prevailing ignorance about the risks of conception should be strengthened and approached directly and imaginatively. An intensified educational effort is necessary not only to supply information but also to eradicate pervasive and persistent false beliefs. Such an effort should identify in an objective nonmoralistic way the economic, social, biological and psychological consequences of premature pregnancy. It should give teenagers an opportunity to reason and learn for themselves the most appropriate solutions to the powerful and complex psychological issues involved. Even those who say they want to become pregnant would benefit from a down-to-earth consideration of the costs of early childbearing. The decision to become pregnant should be an informed one.

A more realistic contraceptive strategy is needed for teenage girls. It is evident that the patterns of teenage sexual behavior, which typically are irregular and relatively infrequent, lead to dependence on coitally dependent male methods—condom and withdrawal. These methods allow the female to maintain a spontaneous view of future sexual encounters—which is more congenial than a posture of continual preparedness. Condoms especially should be made more available and more acceptable since they offer multiple advantages. They can be distributed widely at low cost. They offer protection against venereal disease; they raise no physiological anxieties; and they make conception control a joint responsibility, which is what most teenage females say it should be.

No Technological Breakthrough Required

These recommendations are not new ideas but they are still controversial and unpopular in a society which looks first for a technological solution to every problem. Although the present contraceptive armamentarium of pills and IUDs is well suited to stable marital unions, these methods do not serve the psychological and practical needs of the U.S. teenagers well. U.S. teenagers do not need a new "breakthrough" in contraceptive technology nearly as badly as they need a "breakthrough" in education, information, and access with respect to contraceptive methods that are already in existence but are not now used to their full potential.

This article summarizes research reported by the authors in *Family Planning Perspectives*, Spring 1974; Jan/Feb 1975; and Mar/Apr 1975.



*Infant mortality rates are
higher for young mothers*

Teenage Pregnancies: High Risk for Infants

by

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Consultant

and

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Children born to adolescent mothers have a greater risk of dying before one year of age than children born to women twenty years of age or older.* This was a major finding of the Inter-American Investigation of Mortality in Childhood—an undertaking in which more than 35,000 deaths in infants and children under 5 years of age from 15 project areas widely spaced throughout the Americas were carefully studied. Thirteen of these areas were in Latin America and two were in North America. A full report of the findings was published by the Pan American Health Organization in 1973.

The data from the Inter-American Investigation definitely indicate that the mother's age is an important determinant in the survival and future health of the child.

In six Latin American and two North American areas where the distribution of live births by age of the mother could be computed, the infant mortality rates for young mothers (under 20 years) were significantly higher than for the other four age groups. The lowest rates were for mothers 25-29 years old. The graph on page 17 summarizes this data from six projects.

The level of infant death rates ranged from 133.5 per 1,000 live births in Chaco Province, to 21.2 per 1,000 live births in Canada, as shown by the following table:

Project Area	Infant deaths per 1,000 live births	Percentage of live births to mothers under 20
Chaco Province, Argentina	133.5	16.0
El Salvador	116.6	18.3
Sao Paulo, Brazil	104.1	8.1
Monterrey, Mexico	86.3	9.9
Chile	79.3	14.3
Ribeirao Preto, Brazil	72.1	11.8
San Francisco, U.S.A.	26.2	15.8
Sherbrooke, Canada	21.2	6.6

In five of the 15 projects, including the United States, more than 10 per cent of all live births were to mothers under 20. The highest percentage of births to mothers under 20 was in El Salvador—18.3 percent—whereas the lowest was 6.6 percent in Sherbrooke, Canada.

In areas where infant death rates are high, the excessive mortality was concentrated mainly in the post-neonatal period (1-12 months of age). This may be caused by unfavorable environmental conditions, or by low (2,500 grams or less) or deficient (2,501-3,000 grams) birthweights. Infants with low or deficient birthweights start extrauterine life with increased susceptibility to infection and further nutritional deficiency. Low weight births occur more frequently in mothers under 20 as the table below shows:

Birthweight (in grams)	Percentage of births to women aged:				
	Under 20 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35 years and over
2,500 or less	10.1	7.5	7.0	7.5	8.1
2,501-3,000	21.4	19.1	17.8	17.0	16.4
3,001-3,500	39.5	39.5	38.0	36.0	34.1
3,501-4,000	23.2	26.3	27.7	28.2	28.4
4,001 and more	5.8	7.7	9.5	11.2	13.0

*This article is a summary of "Birthweight, Maternal Age and Birth Order: Three Important Determinants in Infant Mortality" by the authors, published by the Pan American Health Organization, 1975.

If infant mortality is further analyzed by taking into account birth order as well as maternal age, it is apparent that the second or third births to women under 20 are at even greater risk since the interval between these births is short and the biological capacity of the young mother to replenish her nutritional reserves limited. In El Salvador, for example, for women under 20, infant mortality for the first birth was 89.6, for the second 161.5, and for the third over 300. In women aged 20-24, infant mortality for the first birth was 44.0, for the second 69.3; and for the third, 101.5. In women aged 30-34, infant mortality for the first birth was 26.8, for the second, 24.0 and for the third 45.8. In other words, infant mortality rates for first births to women under 20 are more than twice as high as for first births to older women and infant mortality for third births to women under 20 increases to more than six times as high as that for third births to older women. A similar pattern was found in Chile.

While considerably more research must be done on infant mortality in Latin America, the Inter-American Investigation of Mortality in Childhood has documented some important trends. Birthweight, maternal age, and birth order are three important and interrelated

determinants of infant mortality. Children born to young mothers under 20 years of age are more likely to be of low birthweight and nutritionally deficient. Second and third births to mothers under 20 suffer additionally from lack of spacing between births. Delaying the birth of a first child until the mother is in her twenties may therefore have significant impact on the health of the infant and improve its chances of surviving to adulthood.

PAHO Studying Early Pregnancies

Responding to a growing concern of governments throughout the Americas, the Executive Committee of the Pan American Health Organization in July 1975 passed a resolution calling for special programs to assist youth. The problems of adolescent girls will be one of the major emphases of the program which will include sex education and family planning.

*Indonesian Marriage Law changed in 1974
to stress equal rights for men and women*



Marriage Law Reform In Indonesia

by

MRS. NANI SOEWONDO

Chairman

Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association
Commission on Law and Population

The struggle to improve the rights of women in Indonesia has always included efforts to change the marriage laws. Such laws, whether they be codified legal precepts or unwritten customary laws, have a profound impact upon the status of women in a society. An early marriage usually limits a woman's educational, economic and social opportunities and if immediately followed by pregnancy can have adverse health effects upon both mother and child. Therefore the Indonesian Women's Congress, a federation of the most important women's organizations, has undertaken a coordinated campaign to improve the position of women, especially with regard to marriage and divorce, since reform in this field is essential for the welfare and stability of the family.

Before 1974 there was a wide diversity of marriage laws in Indonesia dating back to the Dutch colonial era. Codified laws covered the 15 percent of Indonesian citizens of European or Chinese origin (the Civil Code of 1847 as amended) and of the Christian religion (Marriage Ordinance of 1933). These laws both set a minimum age of marriage of 15 for women and 18 for men. But the majority of Indonesians were not subject to these laws. Rather the 85 percent of Indonesia's population which is Moslem was subject to unwritten customary laws and to Moslem religious laws. For Moslem Indonesians there were no fixed regulations setting a minimum age for marriage, requiring consent of both spouses and determining fair procedures for divorce or alimony. Consequently Moslem laws were often interpreted to the disadvantage of women.

Since the Proclamation of Independence in 1945, basic human rights have been guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. While many rights of women were recognized, including political rights, equal pay for equal work and special protection for women workers, women's rights in marriage were not clearly defined, in spite of government efforts to improve the situation. For example, in 1947 the Minister of Religion issued an Instruction to the officials for registration of marriages and divorces for the Moslem population that child marriages and forced marriages should be prevented as much as possible. However, no fixed age limit was stipulated which limited, in practice, the effectiveness of this Instruction.

Reform Effort Began in 1950

Since 1950 the government has made several efforts to enact a marriage law. A government committee was established by the Minister of Religion to draft a marriage bill. Two drafts were completed in 1952 and 1954. The first draft proposed a uniform marriage law for all religions; but this was not acceptable to the Minister of Religion. A second draft proposed a diversity of laws depending upon religious groups.

In 1958 these marriage bills were submitted to Parliament. They stipulated, among other provisions, a minimum age of marriage of 15 for women and 18 years for men. These bills were discussed in Parliament during 1958-1959, but no action was taken. Because of the opposition of some of the highest authorities in government, several years passed before another bill

was submitted to Parliament. During this period women's organizations actively pressed for a marriage law. In 1963 several groups held a demonstration to urge the government to act on this legislation. At various conferences in 1960-1962 additional support was generated for a revision of the marriage laws.

The new government leadership, established after the abortive coup in 1965, submitted two marriage bills to Parliament. A marriage bill for Moslems was introduced in 1967 and a bill on the basic principles of marriage, applicable to all religious groups, was introduced in 1968. Both bills stipulated a minimum age of marriage of 15 years for women and 18 years for men. While both bills were debated in Parliament during 1967-1970, neither was enacted.

Controversy centered on the question whether there should be different marriage laws for each religious group—a course advocated by certain religious political parties and their affiliated women's organizations—or whether there should be a uniform law applicable to all Indonesian citizens—a course which had the support of other influential groups.

Unfortunately, in the absence of a codified set of laws, adolescent marriages and childhood betrothals continued although exact statistics are not available. The practice of childhood betrothals, in Indonesian "kawin gantung," occurs when a couple is legally married, but the consummation of the marriage is postponed until both spouses have reached a sufficient age to have conjugal relations. These practices are especially common in rural areas where there are strong family and social pressures for early marriage of girls. An early adolescent or child marriage ensures that a girl will be married to a husband selected and arranged for by the parents. Child marriages also reduce the risk of premarital sexual relations and of pregnancy out-of-wedlock, which is important because of the high value placed on virginity and premarital chastity for girls.

International Concern Useful

International concern about the problems of child marriage and the status of women has had a salutary effect upon the campaign to change Indonesian marriage laws. The United Nations Commission on the Stat-

us of Women conducted a study during 1972-1973 on the status of women and family planning in Indonesia. National seminars on these topics were organized by women's groups in preparation for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East Regional Seminar on the Status of Women and Family Planning held in Djakarta, Indonesia in June 1973. The seminar considered "that there is a close relationship between the low status of women, early and universal marriage of girls and a high fertility."

The Regional Seminar recommended that

... governments which have not already done so, ensure that the laws provide for a minimum age of marriage for women of not less than 16 years, for the registration of all marriages, and for the contracting of marriage only with the full and free consent of intending spouses ...

In July 1973, the government submitted a new marriage bill to Parliament, based on unification of previous laws. It recognized the principle of equal rights for men and women in marriage and divorce. It also stipulated a minimum age of marriage of 18 for women and 21 for men. In his explanation of the marriage bill before Parliament, the Minister of Justice noted that a minimum age of marriage would help to support the family planning and population policies of the government. This provision was amended in Parliament, however, and the stipulated age of marriage became 16 for women and 19 for men. After heated debates in and outside Parliament and other changes and compromises, the bill was adopted at the end of December 1973 and enacted as the Marriage Law No. 1, 1974 on January 2, 1974.

Now Indonesia has a codified and unified marriage law. It contains, among other provisions, regulations on the minimum age of marriage; the consent of future spouses; polygamy; divorce by decision of the Court, and the possibility of alimony by decision of the Court.

As of January 1975, however, the government had not enacted the necessary regulations to implement the marriage law. Therefore, it is not enforced. It would be most appropriate if the marriage law were implemented during 1975 to celebrate International Women's Year.

Biological Aspects of Teenage Pregnancy

by

ALAN S. PARKES, M.D.

Biological Science Committee

International Planned Parenthood Federation

The increase in teenage pregnancy in industrialized countries during the last two or three decades has led to much discussion of its social and biological background. From a social point of view, there are four different possible results of adolescent pregnancy, each having different impacts on the community: (1) adolescent pregnancies ending in legal or illegal abortion or spontaneous miscarriage; (2) extra-marital pregnancies resulting in illegitimate births; (3) extramarital conceptions resulting in marriage before the birth of the child; and (4) conception and birth within marriage.

Biologically, however, other considerations are more important. For example, are the reproductive organs sufficiently mature in a teenage girl to carry a child without undue stress? Has the age of puberty in developed countries become substantially younger? Have teenagers become more fertile? These questions are serious since early teenage pregnancy in countries like India seems to be declining whereas in Western Europe, the U.S.A., and Australia teenagers have been responsible for a large and increasing proportion of all births.

Puberty Occurs Younger

It is unquestionably true that over the last century there has been a decline in the age at which girls reach puberty. In Europe this decrease is estimated at about one year in 40, or a decrease of about 3 years since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1845, fifty percent of all girls were menstruating at the age of 15 whereas in 1962, fifty percent were menstruating by the age of 12.

It is also possible that better physical development in recent years has increased teenage fertility. It is easy to suppose that the reproductive tract in girls takes additional time to mature even after ovarian activity has

started. The first menstruation may not be accompanied by ovulation and may be followed by a number of anovular or incomplete cycles. Better nutrition and more rapid growth today may decrease the proportion of these anovular or incomplete cycles and thus increase the likelihood that an adolescent girl would become pregnant.

Assessing changes in male fertility is more difficult, but in this case less relevant since the boy involved in a teenage pregnancy is usually older than the girl. An increase in sex drive among boys might be a factor. There is no reliable evidence but heterosexual activity may to some extent today have superseded the habit of masturbation that used to prevail almost universally among boys.

Social Factors Crucial

But it is far more likely that the increase in adolescent pregnancy is less influenced by biological factors than by social ones. Mass media emphasis on sex and greater independence from parental and school control, for example, have undoubtedly contributed to the increase in adolescent sexual activity. **Although some biological factors may also be at work, the principal factor is a change in outlook and opportunity.**

It is also significant that in Britain and Denmark, the high point in live births to girls aged 15-19 occurred in the mid 1960's. In both countries, increasing use of contraception and the legalization of abortion have contributed to a smaller number or rate of teenage births in the 1970's. Thus it seems clear that social not biological influences are exerting the major effect on adolescent birth rates today and that social measures are needed to deal with the problem.

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Memorial Tributes to William H. Draper, Jr.

The tributes that follow were delivered by international leaders at a service held at the Church Center for the United Nations on



February 18, 1975. They all bear witness to the lasting contributions that William H. Draper, Jr. made in the field of population.

A Remembrance

*by J. George Harrar
President Emeritus, The Rockefeller Foundation*

I have many vivid personal memories of Bill Draper. His tremendous vigor, imagination, and extraordinary capacity for attracting others to his cause have resulted in enormous advances in international family planning. Bill, along with his zeal, was a man of great capacity for friendship, deep understanding, and wide sympathies. Although he was forever involved with the world picture, he was never too busy to deal with the day to day problems of those close to him. His was an unforgettable presence. He filled to capacity any room he entered, and yet he displayed a true humility concerning his own gifts and achievements. His sense of humor was infectious, and he was amazing in the range of his interests and knowledge. I particularly remember a walk in the woods with him on one occasion during which I gained insight into his deep appreciation and respect for all nature.

Bill was fortunate in the understanding and support he enjoyed from all members of his family. They recognized and accepted the claims upon his time and energy which were made by those he sought to aid under the banner of population stabilization. His courage was inexhaustible, as was his patience. He was persuasive but never abrasive, and all whom he met were quickly added to his legion of friends.

The William Drapers of this world will always be in short supply. He attained a stature which will enable him to live long in the minds of those who knew him and appreciated his greatness. I believe he would feel that the finest memorial which could be designed for him would be the establishment of The Draper World Population Fund which commemorates, continues, and advances the cause for which he was a principal exponent.

As word of William Draper, Jr.'s death has reached other nations, expressions of sympathy to his family and appreciation of him have begun to pour in. We know that many organizations and individuals would have wished to have been represented with us here today, and many would have liked to have been able to read encomiums in his memory.

William Draper was especially regarded in Japan because of his enormous contributions to the recovery of that country after World War II. He is also admired and respected for his efforts in the field of family planning as they related to Japan. A year ago, he was decorated by the Japanese Government and this morning Mrs. Draper received in his memory a civilian citation, a scroll, and a miniature golden pagoda symbolizing friendship and brotherhood. Finally, she received a major contribution for the Draper World Population Fund. The donor is Ryoichi Sasakawa, prominent Japanese businessman, industrialist, and philanthropist, whose representatives in New York performed this moving ceremony. Mr. Sasakawa especially wished to include in these services a short eulogy.

William Draper: A True Friend of Humanity

by Ryoichi Sasakawa

Japanese Businessman and Honorary Founder of the Draper World Population Fund

The Honorable William Draper passed away nearly two months ago. The world is inhabited by many great men, but one of the greatest that I have ever known was William Draper. He put into practice the ideal of brotherly love and unfailingly served the cause of mankind throughout his glorious career. His whole life was a tribute to lofty principles and humanitarian causes.

In 1948, after World War II, William Draper led the Reparation Investigation Team in Japan. The result of that work was the famous Draper Report which concluded that defeated Japan must be independent in order to contribute to the stability of the Far East as the factory of the Orient. In this way, William Draper contributed significantly to Japan's economic recovery and independence.

In later years, he was concerned with population and traveled widely calling worldwide attention to the problems of population. He was a founder of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities.

It is now thirty years after World War II, and I am still deeply impressed by William Draper and by the great service he performed during a time of chaos for postwar Japan.

It is the order of nature that people meet and separate. Now that he has left us, it is to my deep regret that we were too late in offering this letter of gratitude. I can only hope that this gesture of thanks will shed another ray of light on an already glorious career.

With my sincere prayers for a true friend of humanity.

Bill Draper: A Man of Action

by Philippe de Seynes

former Under-Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations

Bill Draper enriched our lives. Many of us in one measure or another were touched by him, whether as a friend, an opponent or a colleague, or simply as someone he sought out to serve in some small way the cause to which he was committed. However fleeting the contact, one could not escape the feeling of a strong sense of direction and as a result we seemed to walk away with a firmer step. His very presence gave us not so much a sense of magnitude of the difficulties we face in public life, but a vision of the boundless opportunities that can be seized by the dedicated and the courageous.

This is perhaps because of his capacity for a certain singleness of purpose, an infallible mask of a man of action. Once he had decided on the purpose he was neither bemused or distracted. There was no turning back. The furrow was straight. There was a relentless application of energy and lucidity to the chosen objectives. Bill Draper was not concerned with metaphysical speculation but with the absolute necessity and effectiveness of action.

My association with him dated from the early post-war period, when we first met in Moscow over the problem of German reparations. With his dedication to population policies, our roads often crossed and at times almost merged. All through these experiences it always struck me that he listened as well as spoke, that he learned as he taught, that he became profoundly aware as he proselytized.

He had an alert mind, spare and vigorous as his body. He had a way of converting initial disregard, or even defeat, into triumph. It was a remarkable twist of fate that led him to take on his last great and probably most significant work at a time in life when others would have preferred to take their ease. When President Eisenhower found it prudent to avoid embracing the Draper report on foreign aid because of the somewhat stringent references to population growth and, as Bill Draper saw it, its inhibiting role in the development process, he found in what many would have considered a rebuff, the mainspring of the work of another lifetime to add to all the other achievements which he had crammed into the crowded years already lived.

All this he could take in his stride because he committed himself totally with all his energies to what he considered the greater good. He never worked below capacity. He was the living embodiment of that spirit of hope which has so long sustained America and which should not aban-

don it in these difficult times of self examination and momentous change. No problem was insuperable, no person intractable. Although he found support for his work in some of the current prophesies about the predicament of mankind, his fervour was not of the kind that beat the drum of calamity. He saw further than most.

That he should turn, at possibly the most creative phase of his life, to the United Nations and become an important figure in the diverse world of the world organization has, for those of us gathered here today to pay tribute to this good man, a special significance. At a time when the world organization is subject to new stress and is going through a process of critical self-examination, he demonstrated that the United Nations had within it a tremendous vitality which corresponded to his own; that it could demonstrate that it was indeed a centre of innovation; and that it could be a home for the bold and the imaginative. He helped us to illuminate dark corners and, in some cases, to blow away the accumulated bureaucratic cobwebs of the years. The World Population Conference which was convened at the time of his eightieth birthday, will be an enduring monument to what he fought for.

Bill exuded joy and laughter. His courtesy, kindness, loyalty to friends owed nothing to conscious cultivation. They sprang from a deep happiness and contentment and constant joy in his work and the rich satisfaction of the fully realized life.

*William H. Draper, Jr.
A Special Friend of the United Nations*

*by Rafael M. Salas
Executive Director, United Nations Fund for Population Activities*

Several years ago at a conference in Japan, General Draper said, "I do not speak for my own government, nor for the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, nor the International Planned Parenthood Federation, although I work closely with all of them. I speak only for myself." But because his presence loomed large on every horizon, because he was the epitome of the concerned citizen in a sometimes apathetic world, he spoke not just for himself but for all organizations he felt responsible for. He was a kind of *amicus curiae*—a friend of the court—but in this case, his court was the world and he was a friend of the world. He spoke for all of us who have worked for years in the field of population. And, what we in this field have achieved—or will achieve—will be, I believe, a testament to the man and a monument to his memory.

We ask ourselves today, what kind of man was General Draper? How does one sum up a long lifetime of activity in a few sentences?

If I had to put my finger on one quality above all, I would cite his energy. He drove himself tirelessly, searching for solutions to the many problems that confront us. He always demanded more of himself than others. He traveled everywhere—China, India, to the countries of Africa and Latin America—anywhere at all, to look for allies, colleagues, ideas, good will, funds, and above all, to learn how people in differing circumstances and traditions felt and thought and acted. He had an enthusiasm and an eagerness for the causes for which he worked that was unmatched among his colleagues. He was magnanimous in

his praise, but critical when he felt criticism was necessary. He never claimed credit for his victories, but shared them with all of us—which, to me, was the mark of a true leader.

One of my last memories of General Draper took place on an evening before the World Population Conference. Some of his friends got together to help him celebrate his eightieth birthday. And it seemed right that it should take place in Bucharest on the eve of an event which he had worked so hard to bring about. For many, an eightieth birthday might seem to be an occasion for looking back. But for General Draper, it was another new beginning. Not very many knew that he was an avid amateur magician and he spent the evening entertaining us with his tricks. But the real magic of that performance was not in the tricks, but in the vision of his dialogue which he spoke with the vigor of a young man on his first job—of how he foresaw the countries solving their population problems not with millions but with billions of dollars he would help produce.

Indeed, he was the senior statesman of population. But he was also ageless. He made one completely forget his age as he himself forgot his. Too often we tend to believe that the youth of the world have a monopoly on idealism as well as the enthusiasm with which to pursue it. If that is true, then General Draper was perpetually young. Age was simply a state of mind that he refused to acknowledge. He had too many things to do and too many miles to travel.

In the days and years ahead, when the work we share becomes more and more complex and urgent, as we know it will, we shall miss General Draper's reliable presence. But we shall always remember with gratitude the years he was with us.

A Crusader Has Fallen

by Julia Henderson

Secretary General, International Planned Parenthood Federation

A crusader has fallen—a crusader in the movement toward a more rational world in which we seek peace and prosperity for all men, in which we balance our concern for the rapid growth of human population, a world in which men and women have greater control over their own destinies and greater opportunities for their children. We grieve at the loss of this soldier at the very moment we had attained a bridgehead, had mapped out a Plan of Action and achieved a new world wide consensus on the approach to population questions in relation to development.

All of us who have known and loved General Draper for a decade or more have had a tremendous admiration for his dedication to this cause and his untiring efforts to increase the awareness of political and business leaders of the vital importance of the population crisis for our generation and generations to come.

For those of us in the International Planned Parenthood Federation, General Draper represented something very special. He had added a new dimension to the work of the intrepid women like Margaret Sanger, Elise Ottesen-Jensen, Lady Rama Rao and Senator Kato of Japan and the hardy band who had founded the Federation in 1952 out of their concern for the right of women to control their

own fertility and to develop their own potential. He had added a new dimension to the work of doctors like Drs. Blacker and Heiena Wright, Abraham Stone and Alan Guttmacher who had led the fight for family planning in the medical profession. Bill Draper, convinced by Hugh Moore of the seriousness of this problem, brought a rapidly expanding group of business and professional leaders into active participation in the planned parenthood movement. After his famous Draper Report on Foreign Aid in 1958 which splashed his name across the headlines for his strong recommendations on including aid to assist governments in slowing down population growth, undaunted by the initial rejection by the White House, he turned more and more to the private sector movement to influence leadership opinion. His active role in the World Population Emergency Campaign brought him in contact with Cass Canfield and the host of people of talent and good will already involved in the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. In 1961 this partnership resulted in merger and today Planned Parenthood/World Population, the American affiliate of the IPPF, stands as a worthy and living memorial to Bill Draper's vision of joining concern for the human rights and welfare of every American family with our world wide concern for the effects of rapid population growth on the prospects for development and improving the quality of life around the world. This concern was given higher priority in the IPPF from the time its Constitution was amended in Singapore in 1963. In the years that followed, Bill Draper established the Victor-Bostrom Fund and astonished all his colleagues by the magical ways in which he filled the meager Treasury of the IPPF both with money and good will. Never giving up his personal contacts with hundreds of donors to this private fund, he turned his great talents as investment banker and organizer to prompting Prime Ministers, Ministers of Finance and Ministers of Development to give to the IPPF as well as to the United Nations over the past decade. His remarkable record is open for all to see in the IPPF and UNFPA budgets today.

Although General Draper's name is synonymous with fundraising for all of our 84 national family planning associations, his importance to the IPPF is far wider. He was influential in stimulating Mexican and Brazilian leaders from governmental, business and professional circles to establish family planning organizations in their own countries; he convinced American Senators and Congressmen to give more support to the IPPF; he persuaded German and Japanese leaders that they should join this movement through private as well as intergovernmental bodies.

However important his financial wizardry has been to the IPPF and its thousands upon thousands of volunteers, he will be remembered evermore for his vision for the organization, for the way in which he has helped to forge the links between the United Nations and the IPPF, for the warmth of his personality, his tolerance for all points of view and his indefatigability.

At our November 1974 meetings, following on the World Population Conference, we paid him special tribute by naming him as the First Patron of the IPPF.

Through all the years I have known him, Bill has been patiently and loyally supported by his good wife, Eunice, often awakened, I'm sure, by his telephone calls to London or New York or Bangkok at six o'clock in the morning. His faithful band at the Population Crisis Committee, helping him to keep his work organized and documented, know that they will never see his like again. All of us at IPPF, even when we disagreed from time to time with his unorthodox methods, enjoyed the contest of wills which we knew we could never win. He charmed our lady presidents, cajoled our treasurers, and advised the Secretary-General untiringly how to run the organization—and we knew we would never have a better friend.

Now we must close ranks behind the fallen crusader. We must rejoice in the good he has done and begin to build the only memorial he would have appreciated—ever expanding and more effective population programmes throughout the world.

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